1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family. They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 612 273 579 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 612 605 [252] Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual portions. [264] When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual portion of meat. [261] After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 612 562 [603] [252] The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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'Now they are crucifying Him'; and finally, at the critical moment of the service on Easter Day, 'Christ is risen'.

The Liturgy on the Thursday has a particular sanctity and significance for this is the day on which Christ is placed on the cross. The older women, particularly the grandmothers who may die during the year, together with the younger children, always communicate on this day; for the Communion which is received on the Thursday 'lasts' for a year. They take with them to the church a sack filled with the various apotropaic substances, some of which will be put into the phylacteries of the children while the remainder is an armoury of divine energy with which the family is able to face and defeat the Devil during the coming year. This sack, which is for 'the living', is blessed and read over by the priest and taken back to the huts. They leave with the priest a second sack which is for 'the dead'. This contains boiled wheat (κόλλυβα), incense, candles, wine. For on this day the Sarakatsani believe that the souls of the dead return to earth. As soon as the older women and children return from church, the younger women knead the dough and bake small breads (ψυχούδια). These are at once taken together with cooked beans and wine and are given to all the neighbouring families, who receive them, one for each person, with an expression of hope that God may forgive the sins of the dead. In this way is symbolized the union of the quick and the dead and their mutual forgiveness of trespasses committed.

On Good Friday the intensity of emotional feeling is scarcely bearable. The effigy of Christ is taken from the cross and placed in the representation of the tomb which is carried round the village and returned to the Church as to the sepulchre. During this service the atmosphere is heavy with grief; tears stream down the faces of the women. Before 1950 the Sarakatsan women used to make their own representations of the tomb and the body of Christ which three of them guarded throughout the day, their black scarves low over their faces, silently weeping, while one of them intoned monotonously the dirge of the Mother of God for her only Son.[1] Finally, the service which begins after midnight on the Saturday is a transformation of joy and exaltation. Christ who was crucified is risen again.

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'.

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 221 103 [494] Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the [648] Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said 101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro 186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 262 [252] 263 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

585 262 [273] being moved in and wedged among the company as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred magnificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this [252] delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside. [609] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 533 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild [539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Ori!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

276 spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

825 787 Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their 782 262 [825] sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these [252] are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking [787] into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

531 522 531 [540] The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

/75 cont./
343 northern corners of the base of the rectangle and a fork three meters
417 high is set at each of the two others. From one fork to the other a series of trunks are placed in a row, making up the framework of the roofing which slopes in relation to the horizon. On this framework are placed a certain number of long branches which serve as rafters. The two short sides and the long southern side of the building are formed in the same way as the sides of a rectangular hut. The same holds true for the top which is covered like the roof of the hut. The front, turned towards the north, remains entirely open.

In certain cases the tsardhaki or "shade" becomes incorporated in the enclosure of the fretzato joined to the hut, and /76/ occupies one of its sides; but its use, as we shall see later on, does not differ from that of the independent "tsardhaki."

343 b) The oven: The technique of hut construction is likewise the
252 basis of the construction of the ovens (fig. 60).

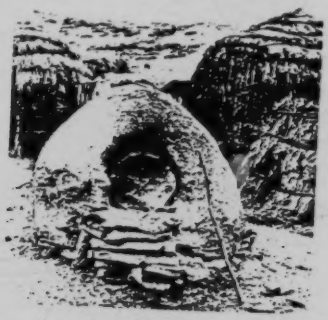

Fig. 60

/76 cont./

343
252 The oven, always in the open air, rests on a framework of long, defoliated branches. These branches are set in the earth in a circle approximately one meter in diameter at 20 to 30 centimeter intervals, and their free ends are fastened together so as to form a cone.

On the periphery of the cone and at a specific point the branches are spaced to provide for the opening of the oven.

343
333
252 The inside of the cone is filled with small stones arranged horizontally up to a height of 50 centimeters; then the surface is covered over with flagstones properly aligned and cemented with clay.

Then, the entire exterior of the cone is covered with a very thick layer of boughs which is covered with a coating of potter's clay. The opening of the oven remains uncovered, but during the building /77/ of the walls it is covered with a plank or a large stone which is removed when the outside of the oven is completed.

Only the interior now needs to be finished. As in the case of the exterior surface, the interior of the oven is coated with a layer of potter's clay.

The ventilation of the oven is provided by a hole near the top in the part across from the opening; it is called "the ear."

To complete the construction the oven is heated for several hours; the next day the procedure is repeated. Thus, the clay of the walls dries and becomes as hard as brick. The oven is then ready to be used.

However, this technique of oven building is not the only one found among the Sarakatsani. Here is another:

One starts by building the lower part in the shape of a cylinder 50 centimeters high by one meter in diameter, entirely by means of stone slabs and clay.

The upper surface of the cylinder, well leveled off, is paved with small, fixed flagstones. On these flagstones stones are piled up without being attached and arranged in such a way that the heap takes on a cylindro-conical shape. It is then overlaid with a thick layer of

/77 cont./
343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

[178]
[361]

18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] [352] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).

343 [252] Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 Buildings intended for animals.

233 417 In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[See p.84--Analyst]

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which, if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotti" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the [262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions [574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.). [527]

252 262 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

[128] [234] However, preliminary to the description of the different Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of preparing of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 252 43 22 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 252 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

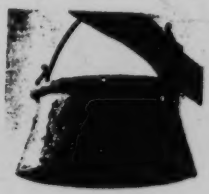

Fig. 91

/110 cont./
234 252 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 252 415 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles" or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 252 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table; it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub [251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding. [231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

252 252 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

/111/

234
252
415

Fig. 94

252 /112 cont./ consistency. Sometimes oil or butter and cheese are added.
262

--"Kourkoutti" is a variation of "katsamaki": it is the same mixture but to which is added a small quantity of onions that are browned separately in a frying pan.

--"Tripsana": pieces of dry maize bread are boiled in salted water or in a vegetable broth. Seasoning and oil or butter are added.

--Almost the same thing is done with pieces of wheat bread which are also boiled, but in butter and cheese is added as well. This dish is called "papara."

--"Kousmari" is another dish in the Sarakatsani diet. Some cheese just prepared and not yet salted is placed in a receptacle and exposed to the sun until it is slightly fermented. The receptacle is then put on the fire and a little flour is added. The mixture is stirred until it thickens.

--Finally, "nersta" or "birbilonia" are a kind of dough made with wheat flour. One spreads the flour on a table, sprinkles it lightly

/112 cont./

252 with water and gathers up the small balls which form spontaniously.
242 Water is brought to a boil. A small quantity of oil or butter and then seasoning are added. Sometimes these pellets, are fried in oil together with onions.

"Tripsana," "papara," and "kousmari" are dishes prepared chiefly by shepherds during their stay in the sheepfolds far from the dwellings. Here we have an exception to the rule (23)

23. See below, pp. 177-179.

which demands that culinary work be reserved for the women.

Now we come to the preparation of pastries, the most characteristic of which are the following:

The pastry with grasses: between layers of dough well rubbed with oil or butter and placed in a flat receptacle one spreads a layer made up of a mixture of edible wild aromatic herbs finely chopped, onions, cheese, butter or oil seasoned with salt and pepper and slightly cooked beforehand in a saucepan.

/113/ Another mixture may also be substituted, likewise cooked beforehand and containing cheese, milk, butter and flour. In this case the pastry which is called "galatopitta," is considered a treat.
/Fig. 95 appears here/

For the "striftopitta" or "psaropitta" the method of preparation is completely different. One starts by kneading a dough with a flour base whereupon one divides it into several parts. Each part is carefully worked with the "plastis" on the "plastiri" (fig. 95) until one obtains a circle approximately 60 centimeters in diameter, as thin as a sheet of paper, which is called /114/ "fylla" (leaf). Let us say parenthetically that these "fylla," placed one on top of the other in a receptacle may take the place of the various layers of dough in the preparation of the pastries already described. Then one prepares a mixture of white cheese and "trachanas." (24)

/113/

252
142
412

Fig. 93

252
262
(191)

/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

/114 cont./

252 262 In order to conclude the inventory, it is necessary also to speak of the grasses and vegetables that the Sarakatsani use. The first are made up chiefly of dandelions and other edible wild plants gathered in the countryside, either to be cooked in water for a salad or to be used in making pastries (caucalide, (25) aromatic chervil

25. Condulocarpus apulus.

parolla [a type of lichen], wild leek, etc.)

Among the second belong the beans, broad beans, lentils and, recently, potatoes and rice; however, their preparation does not present any peculiarity that need be reported here.

262 Meat, finally, does not make up any of the dishes that we have described. This is because meat constitutes altogether unusual food. (26)

26. Thurnwald: Economie Primitive, p. 121, says that pastoral peoples only exceptionally kill animals for their meat. Livestock is capital on the income of which the people live.

In fact, the herders do not readily "sacrifice" their livestock for their food. However, it is customary that for Christmas, Easter, [527] St. George, St. Demetrius, each one's personal feast day and each time [574] hospitality is called for (whoever the visitor may be), they kill a lamb and roast it on the spit. In all these instances the killing of the lamb takes on a ritual significance which justifies the "sacrifice."

It should be noted that this description of the Sarakatsani cuisine is a faithful account of the diet common among them.

/115/ --The cooking of foods

372 [252] The Sarakatsani practice several methods of cooking, which presuppose a method of lighting fire. This method consists of an oblique striking impact: a flint is struck with an iron hammer; the sparks which are produced ignite a piece of tinder (fig. 96). Then the fire is transferred to /Fig. 96 appears here/ dry grass of brush lying on the hearth (fig. 64). In order to stir up the fire they have recourse to a

1./Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/115 cont./

372

Fig. 96

natural draft (brush and dry sticks are arranged in the shape of a cone so that an air current circulates from bottom to top) and to an artifical draft (human breath).

It is necessary to mention in this connection that in the Sarakatsani dwellings the fire is never allowed to go out (whether it be in the huts during the winter months or in the fretzato used for outdoor cooking in the summer).

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With regard to cooking, various methods can be distinguished:

Cooking in pots: a triangular metal tripod which holds on all kinds of pots is set on the hearth flagstones over the fire. In the relatively less well organized installations (sheepfolds) and in the course of the migrations the tripod is replaced by suitably arranged stones.

Cooking in the"ghastra" (large metal lid /116/ one meter in diameter, a sort of spherical cap, flat and equipped with a handle at the top).

The "ghastra" is placed on the tripod above a well-burning fire in such a way that one side of it rests on the low wall of the hearth and the other on the tripod. Thus the hearth as well as the "ghastra" rapidly reach a very high temperature. When this temperature is judged sufficient, the "ghastra" is removed; then, according to what one wishes to cook, the foods are either put directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth or are kept in a receptacle which itself is placed upon the

/116 cont./

252 415 [412] flagstones, the coals or on the tripod. They are then carefully covered with the "ghastra." Let us note that the hot "ghastra" is manipulated by inserting the "xethali" (wooden poker, fig. 15) in its handle. Finally, the "ghastra" is covered with coals. Figures 97, 98, 99 show stages of cooking under the "ghastra."

It is under the "ghastra" that the Sarakatsani cook the various kinds of bread and pastries that we have described.

252 Cooking in the oven: the oven is used collectively (moreover, the use of the oven is relatively recent among the Sarakatsani), that is to say that the oven is built only in the midst of large aggregates of huts. The oven is chiefly meant for baking bread. In order to bake the bread, one must first heat the oven. Shrubs and logs are ignited and allowed to burn up completely. Then the ashes are heaped up with a shovel and the flagstones cleaned with a rag attached to the end of a pole. After that the bread needs only to be put in the oven and left there the necessary time.

The loaves to be baked are set directly on the flagstones of the oven.

Cooking on a spit: this is the most common method of roasting meat. 252 262 More specifically, the Sarakatsani, in preparing meat, cook only whole lambs. In their traditional life, the preparation of pieces of meat previously cut up is not customary. Moreover, the only meat they eat is that of lambs and, more rarely, of goats. Of course, pigs and some poultry raised by the women are used for family consumption. However, their role /in the diet/ is so minimal that it in no case be considered substantial, or a basic food. /117/ /Figs. 97, 98, 99 appear here/

252 /118/ Cooking on the spit involves several stages. First, a one-by-two meter pit is dug some 50 centimeters deep in which coals are prepared; then the lamb is pierced from end to end with a spit which is placed on two forks set at the two extremities of the pit. Sometimes the height

A,/Fig. 15 appears on p.44--Analyst/

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 134]

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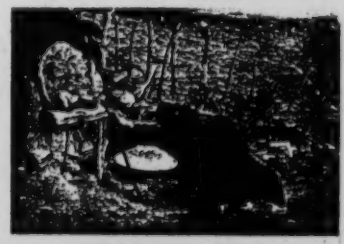

Fig. 97

Fig. 98

Fig. 99

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

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[313]
[322]
/159 cont./
as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234]
[439] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252]
[233] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer, prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

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463 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds. Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,
--of ewes from that age on up,
--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,
--of sterile ewes,
--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

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descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil), asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs, hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among

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796 414 551 [488] [252] [596] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [776] [474] [554] [574] [782] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 982 474 596 776 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 955 982 [252] [267] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We